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FACT

vs.

SLANDER

A plain statement of fact in regard to certain matters which the Conservative party in Parliament, on the platform, and in the press for the past three years, have made the basis of a campaign of slander by which they hope to shake the confidence of the electors in the honest, efficient and progressive policy and administration of the Liberal party.

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The great feature in the progress of Canada during the past ten years has been the development of the North West. During those years production on the prairies has increased from 50 million bushels of grain to 200 million bushels. This increase of production added annually to the wealth of Canada, makes the difference between present progress and former stagnation. It has been brought about by the increase of people occupying western lands. The total immigration to Canada during the past ten years has been 1,100,000. During ten years the Liberal Government has given 200,000 settlers 21 million acres of free land in the West.

In the period from 1896-1906 three times as much land was given in free homesteads as in the previous 18 years and only one-third as much was sold or granted in scrip.

The average value of unimproved western land has increased from \$2.00 an acre in 1896, to \$6.00 an acre in 1906. This enormous increase of settlement, of production and of land values could not have taken place except on a basis of mutual confidence between the settler and the Government administering the lands. It was because of the lack of this mutual confidence, on account of the land policy and administration of the Conservative Government, that settlement made so little progress during the years of their rule. Could the confidence of settlers in the administration of the public lands by the Liberal Government be shaken settlement would thereby be retarded, the Government discredited and the country injured.

With the object of discrediting the Government and without regard to whether the country was injured or not, during the past three Sessions of Parliament the Opposition party have concentrated their efforts in an attempt to discredit the western land administration of the Government by proclaiming what they are pleased to call scandals in that administration. The alleged scandals, but actual slanders which have been ventilated at length before the House

of Commons and Committees, are the contract with the North Atlantic Trading Co., with the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company, with the Robbins Irrigation Company, the lease to the Galway Horse and Cattle Company, the sale of the Blairmore townsite and the complaint against J. Nixon and P. Wagner, as Government officials. These transactions took place in pursuance of the well-defined policy of the Government to secure the settlement and improvement of the country, and in no sense gave any warrant for the allegations of unfair dealing or favoritism towards friends, which has been alleged.

North Atlantic Trading Company.

In pursuing a vigorous immigration campaign on the European continent the Government found itself seriously hampered by the restrictive laws of the various countries. The government's policy in inducing immigration was to secure the energetic efforts of steamship booking agents by paying a bonus on tickets sold to Canada. It was found that the individual booking agents, being subject to the restrictive laws mentioned, were not able to carry on a vigorous advertising campaign such as the Government desired. The North Atlantic Trading Company was a syndicate of continental booking agents operating in the various European countries but having their headquarters in Holland, which was centrally located and which had no restrictive laws itself, and was not subject to the restrictive laws of surrounding countries. By this means the syndicate was able to spread literature advertising Canada with every advantage throughout the European countries from which immigration was desired, and the bonus was paid to the syndicate instead of to the individual booking agents as formerly. The result was, as the returns show, a very large flow of immigration.

As time went on and immigration increased the policy of more careful selection of immigrants was adopted by the Canadian Government. In pursuance of that policy, on examination it was found that the North Atlantic Trading Company was satisfied to secure immigrants from the countries most easily worked, and was not using due endeavours in the countries of greater expense and difficulty. For this reason the contract was cancelled and its operations closed in November, 1906.

Since then a new method of dealing with individual booking agents in the several European countries has been adopted. Under the new system, instead of dealing with all booking agents, only such as are approved by the Immigration Department are dealt with. By this means it is hoped that, while there may be reasonable effort to secure immigrants, friction with the restrictive countries will be avoided, but it has been too recently inaugurated to be sure, as yet, of results.

Saskatchewan Valley Land Company.

The Saskatchewan Valley Land Company transaction related to an area of land included in the grant made by the

Conservative Government in aid of the construction of the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway. It involved the sale of 250,000 acres of land to the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company at a price of \$1.00 per acre with conditions of settlement. The allegation is that the price at which the land was sold was below the market value. This is the sole allegation made in the attempt to discredit the Government in this connection. It is freely admitted on all hands that as a result of the operations of the company a large tract of country which for many years had been absolutely vacant has now become well settled and very largely productive. As a consequence the value of the land has increased and the company engaged in the undertaking has reaped some profit. These latter features of the case are to the credit and not discredit of the Government. That is to say, the securing of settlement and production and the financial benefit naturally resulting therefrom.

As to the market value of the land: The lands sold to the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company were the even numbered sections alternating necessarily with the odd numbered sections which belonged to the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Company as their land grant. At the same time as the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company bought from the Government on settlement conditions at \$1.00 an acre the even numbered sections, they bought from the Railway Company the alternating odd numbered sections without settlement duties at \$1.65 per acre. The fact that the Railway Company sold at \$1.65 is incontrovertible evidence as to the market value of the land at the time. If the Government had sold the land without settlement conditions and had sold it at less than \$1.65 per acre it would certainly have been fairly the subject of criticism. But the purpose of the Government was the settlement, not the mere sale of the land. It was sold only on conditions of settlement which were much more expensive to the company, which cost them a great deal more money, than it would have cost them to pay the difference of 65 cents per acre for the land. The company would naturally have been just as willing to pay the Government \$1.65 for its land without settlement conditions as it was to pay the Railway Company the same price for its land on the same conditions. But the Government preferred to take in place of a difference of 65 cents an acre in price the actual settlement of the amount of land called for in the arrangement. This settlement has involved the production of grain and the increase of wealth and population which is the boast of Canada so far as this tract of country is concerned. That the men who paid for the land and spent their money in inducing settlement upon it, have made money out of the sale at the price to which their exertions had advanced it, is a gain and not a loss to the country. It is a gain and not a loss that population has been increased, that production has been increased, and that the land has increased in value. It was to secure these results that the bargain with the Saskatchewan Land Company was made. Had the purpose of the bargain failed it would not have

been the subject of Opposition criticism, but it would have been unfortunate for the country; and the attempt is made to have the people believe that its success was because of wrong-doing on the part of the Government.

The Robbins Irrigation Company

The agreement with the Robbins Irrigation Company involved a transaction embracing some 380,000 acres of land in a part of the Territories where the experience of twenty years had demonstrated that cultivation could not succeed without irrigation. In recognition of the fact that a considerable portion of the south-western part of the prairie requires irrigation to successfully produce crop, in 1898 an irrigation law was passed by Parliament, the purpose of which was to offer reasonable inducements to the investment of private capital in the work of irrigating land which could not be successfully cultivated without it. In pursuance of that policy, from time to time agreements were entered into with private individuals and companies alienating considerable areas of land on condition that they should be irrigated. Most of these transactions concerned areas under 1,000 acres but in one case the area alienated to the Alberta Railway and Coal Company was half a million acres. The terms upon which lands were alienated for purposes of irrigation in effect are: An agreement is entered into between the Government and the company that when the company has irrigated one acre of a certain tract the Government will sell to the company four acres of the tract affected at \$1.00 per acre. In the case of the Robbins Irrigation Company the same agreement was entered into; this agreement is, therefore, not more subject to criticism than are all the other irrigation enterprises which have been entered into during the past eight years on the same terms.

This enterprise, however, required an estimated expenditure of at least one million dollars to secure effective irrigation. The company undertook to raise this money in London, and issued a glowing prospectus. The Opposition, assuming that the expectations held out in the prospectus had been already realized, attacked the agreement as though it were a part of the prospectus, and as though the Government in making the agreement were responsible for the representations made by the company in order to raise the money with which to carry out its agreement. The facts are, that unless and until the company is actually able to make productive one acre of hitherto unproductive North-West land it does not become entitled to anything. When it has succeeded in making one such acre of unproductive land productive, it then becomes entitled to buy four acres at \$1.00 per acre. That is to say, land which hitherto has been offered free to anyone who would take it and cultivate it, and which no one has been willing to accept on these conditions, is to be paid for by the company at the rate of \$1.00 per acre after the company has spent a million dollars in making one-fourth of the tract productive. The physical conditions are such that it will require an expenditure of this,

or a greater amount, before the company will be entitled to purchase one acre of land under their agreement.

The following is a short business statement as to the national value of the Robbins Irrigation Proposal:

The company propose to reclaim 380,000 acres of land, equal to 2,375 quarter sections. A family of five on each quarter-section cannot live on and work the land without equal to at least \$1,000 capital in the development of the country, or a total addition to the working capital of the country of about two and a half million dollars. If, however, the capital value of each individual is placed at \$1,000, which is the more frequent calculation, the total addition to the working capital of the country of the Robbins Irrigation Enterprise, if it succeeds, is nearly twelve million.

The people most nearly resident to the scene of operations of the company are best qualified to speak of the project. On August 21st, the following resolution addressed to the Minister of the Interior was passed by the city council of Medicine Hat:—

“Whereas, it is of the utmost importance to the City of Medicine Hat and the surrounding district that the vast areas of unoccupied lands should be settled upon and brought under cultivation, and owing to the semi-arid conditions prevailing in the district, and the uncertainty of the rainfall during the season when it is most required, this can never be accomplished until some practical system is put into operation, by which the abundant flow of water from the Rocky Mountains can be conserved and held by a system of reservoirs and basins located at various points over the highlands throughout the district, and distributed over the lowlands by a system of lateral canals, and it was with pleasant anticipations that we looked forward to the Southern Alberta Land Company commencing work upon a plan of this nature some two years ago, whereby they contemplated in a short time having some 380,000 acres guaranteed a plentiful supply of water for irrigation purposes, independent of rainfall, which is so uncertain in this district, and our community having full knowledge of the facts and the work being done by this company, fully recognize and believe that the salvation of this district depends very largely on the success of this enterprise.

“This cannot be exemplified to better advantage than by looking over the report of Mr. W. C. McKilligan, Acting Judge of standing grain competition carried on under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture, and in which he found only two fields to which he could conscientiously award prizes. All the others are reported by him as being destroyed by drought. This report was handed by him to the Secretary of the Agricultural Society under date of August 8th, 1908, and which we have no doubt will be available for your inspection in the files of the Department of Agriculture.

“We are also aware that a great deal of opposition is being engendered to this enterprise by parties claiming that it closes up large tracts of land that otherwise would

"be available for homesteading. Our answer to this is; that
 "possessing an intimate knowledge of the country embraced
 "in the scheme, we have no hesitation in saying, and we
 "challenge contradiction, that the land is practically value-
 "less for other than grazing purposes, without a guaranteed
 "supply of water, and that the company has already ex-
 "pended in the neighbourhood of \$100,000.00 in preliminary
 "surveys, drilling, etc., and that we further consider the
 "present time very opportune for immediate construction
 "and completion of same, many men being out of employ-
 "ment and labour plentiful, also a large number of railway
 "contractors are about finished with their present work, and
 "in a position to undertake new contracts.

"Under these conditions, we, the members of the city
 "council of Medicine Hat, believing that we are voicing the
 "sentiment of the city and district when we say that we
 "sincerely hope that you as Minister of the Interior will
 "use every endeavour with the Federal Government, in
 "granting any reasonable concessions to the Southern
 "Alberta Land Company, so that they may be enabled to
 "bring about a speedy consummation and put into practical
 "operation their irrigation enterprise, which is of such vital
 "importance to intending settlers in the district, and we
 "fully believe that lands in this neighbourhood are as good
 "as can be found in Western Canada if guaranteed a plenti-
 "ful supply of water, being familiar and conversant with
 "the work already done, and with the object and plans of
 "the Company, we think this can be accomplished by them,
 "and we therefore humbly pray that your Government will
 "give this Company every assistance in your power to bring
 "about an early completion of this work."

Accompanying the Council's resolution was the follow-
 ing resolution of endorsement by the Board of Trade:—

Moved by Mr. F. F. Fatt. Seconded by Mr. T. Hutch-
 inson,—

"That the council of the Medicine Hat Board of Trade
 "are heartily in accord with, and fully endorse the resolu-
 "tion passed by the city council on August 21st, memorial-
 "izing the Minister of the Interior to use his influence with
 "the Federal Government to make such changes and grant
 "any reasonable concessions to the Southern Alberta Land
 "Company, so as to enable them to complete their irrigation
 "enterprise at an early date."

Carried.

The Galway Horse and Cattle Company Lease.

The south western part of the prairie west, which is
 subject to insufficient rainfall for the growth of crop, is suit-
 able for cattle raising on a large scale. This has been carried
 on ever since the first settlement of the country; and the
 division of the grazing rights between the various holders of
 bands of cattle has been the subject of consideration; and
 from time to time numerous changes have been made.
 There are many difficulties in making a division of the grazing
 rights which will be satisfactory to all the parties concerned,
 the principal one being that, with the change of seasons from

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wet to dry, a part of the country which may be too dry for the growth of crop during a certain succession of years, in the succeeding cycle may have sufficient rainfall and become attractive to settlers. To meet this condition, grazing rights were granted to owners of cattle, subject to the entry upon those rights of homesteaders as they might please. While this provision was very proper in any part of the country where cultivation would be likely to become possible under a change in the amount of rainfall, it gave an opportunity in the parts of the country which were unquestionably and always too dry for the growth of the crop, for the rancher to be held up by the speculative homesteader, who, by squatting or homesteading on the sources of water supply, was enabled to prevent the ranchman from using the large grazing areas dependent upon that water supply. In order that the areas of the country where dry conditions were thoroughly established might be used to the best advantage for grazing purposes, it was desirable that the provision allowing homesteading within a grazing lease should not apply. Therefore, in about 1902, several Orders-in-Council were passed granting grazing leases on lands which were unquestionably dry, and from which homesteaders were excluded for a period of 21 years. One of these Orders was in favour of H. P. Brown, of Great Falls, Montana. The other leases granted under these Orders-in-Council were executed and availed of, but Brown did not execute the lease sent him, and did not enter upon occupation of the property. His rights were afterwards assigned to the Galway Horse and Cattle Company. This Company had acquired Mr. Brown's rights for the purpose of stocking the lease and was prepared to execute and occupy.

Some time in February, 1905, a general regulation had been passed providing for closed leases where the country was not suitable for agricultural settlement. Owing to the difficulty of defining what was and what was not suitable for agricultural settlement, in June, 1905, these regulations were suspended; and later on, there were substituted for them regulations providing for a 21-year lease, subject to cancellation on two years notice.

When the Galway Company applied to execute their lease, the Minister offered them a lease under the new conditions; that is to say, 21 years, subject to cancellation on two years' notice; at the time supposing that the Company held their rights under the regulations of February, 1905, respecting closed leases which had been rescinded. The Company accepted the lease on these terms for the time being, but afterwards rejected it, and demanded their lease according to the terms of the Order-in-Council which had authorized the issue of a lease to H. P. Brown, for the tract in question, whose assigned rights they held. As the Order-in-Council had never been rescinded, they were clearly entitled to the rights existing under it, and the closed lease according to the terms of the Order-in-Council was issued to them. They were not required to pay the rental for the term intervening between the passing of the Order and the

execution of the lease, because until the lease was executed, the Department of the Interior had no legal right to collect the lease money from them. It is true that the Government might have cancelled the Order-in-Council, but it is also true that by doing so it might have been exposed to very severe criticism for having unwarrantably abrogated private rights, especially as the cancellation of the Order would not have in any degree altered the fact that the tract affected was fitted for grazing only, and therefore as a matter of public policy should be under closed lease. And unless the Order-in-Council were cancelled, the Department of the Interior had no alternative but to issue the lease in accordance with the terms of the Order.

Blairmore Townsite.

Blairmore station on the Crow's Nest Pass Railway is in a valley in the Rocky Mountains about a mile and a half west of the gap or entrance by the railway to the mountains. The road was completed in 1898. A station agent and a sectionman were put in residence. The name of the station agent was H. E. Lyon, and the sectionman was Felix Montalbetti. Both resided in or near the station for several years. After the completion of the railway, coal was discovered at Frank, about two miles east of Blairmore and outside the gap, and a station and town were established there. Later on, other discoveries of coal were made, and finally the coal rights under the quarter section upon which the Blairmore station stood were purchased from the Government at the current rate of \$7.00 per acre, by H. S. Pelletier. About the same time, Pelletier took up his residence upon this quarter section at a considerable distance from the station, erected a comfortable house, and has resided there ever since. When Pelletier purchased the coal rights of the quarter, under the regulations he could have purchased the surface rights also by paying \$10 an acre, at the rate of \$7.00 for the coal and \$3.00 for the surface.

As the Frank mine was developed and the town of Frank grew, and other coal discoveries were made in the neighbourhood, the surface rights of the Blairmore quarter section began to acquire a speculative value. Shortly after Pelletier had acquired the coal right, H. E. Lyon and Felix Montalbetti applied to purchase the surface right. Two applications to purchase having been made, it was decided by the Department to sell to the claimant who showed prior rights of occupation. Both applicants were heard, and the surface rights of the land were sold at the current rate of \$3.00 an acre to Montalbetti, on his establishing to the satisfaction of the Commissioner of Dominion lands priority of residence upon the land.

Lyon took exception to this decision, asked for and received leave from the Department to contest Montalbetti's right in the Court. He brought his case before the Exchequer Court, evidence was taken on the ground with Justice Wetmore as referee. Justice Wetmore reported and Justice Burbidge of the Exchequer Court decided that

so far as residence was concerned, Lyon had no claim upon the land. As Montalbetti held by purchase and not by squatter's right there was no ground for disturbing the sale to him. Justice Burbidge, however, decided that before Montalbetti was confirmed in his title, he should give title to Lyon and to Pelletier for the portions of the land upon which their then existing improvements stood. Although Lyon had failed in establishing his case, the Government decided in order that he might not suffer serious loss, to pay, and ultimately did pay, his costs in the case, in the belief that as the decision of the Judge gave him title to a part of the land that his rights might fairly receive some consideration. Lyon complained very bitterly of the decision of the Court, and secured the making of a number of accusations against the Interior Department, and particularly against Mr. McKenzie, to whom Montalbetti's rights had been assigned, but did not, and has not yet, taken any action to appeal from the decision of the Exchequer Court, which was his right and was his proper course if he believed he had been wronged.

Amongst the allegations made by Lyon was that of improper dealing between McKenzie and Montalbetti, and of perjury against Montalbetti. Last summer, Lyon caused criminal proceedings to be taken against Montalbetti on the charge of perjury. Montalbetti was arrested, the case was tried out before Judge Harvey and a jury in Macleod, and the jury returned a verdict of not guilty.

The position was taken by the leader of the Opposition that when it was found that the townsite of Blairmore had become valuable, the sale to Montalbetti should have been cancelled and the land sold for the benefit of the treasury. If this principle were to be adopted, the right of everyone who has acquired government land in the west during the past twenty years, would be subject to cancellation, as each individual parcel has increased very greatly in value. The principle of the Government, on the other hand, is that when a sale is made, the rights of the purchasers are established, and that it is not the privilege of the Government, because it may have the power, to break the bargain.

The Wagner Case.

Philip Wagner is employed as clerk and interpreter at the Dominion Lands Office, Edmonton, and as interpreter attached to the Dominion Immigration Office, Edmonton. He receives a salary of \$75 a month for his Lands Office work and \$25.00 a month for his Immigration Office work, \$100.00 per month in all. He speaks English, German and Galician fluently, and understands all three thoroughly. He is a native of Galicia, but is of German parentage, and belonged to one of the many German colonies in that province of Austria. Therefore, German is his native language, but as the German colony in Galicia was surrounded by people speaking Galician, and as there was necessarily a great deal of interchange of business, he acquired the Galician language thoroughly. Since coming to Canada, he has also acquired the English language thoroughly.

The necessity for the employment of German and Galician interpreters at the Lands and Immigration Offices in Edmonton, arises from the fact that there are German settlements numbering many thousand souls in that vicinity, and there are also Galician settlements numbering in the neighbourhood of 15,000.

The settlers of these nationalities already on the land, necessarily have a great deal of business with the Lands Office, and it is in the last degree important, not only for the benefit of the settlers, but also in the interest of the proper transaction of the Government's business, that the important communications necessarily made should be interpreted accurately.

To these large settlements of Germans and Galicians naturally there come every year additions in the way of relations or acquaintances from their original homes, who have to be dealt with by the Immigration and Lands Departments of the Government. It is even more necessary than in the case of the old settlers that information and requirements should be accurately transmitted between the Government departments and the new settlers. Under these circumstances it is absolutely necessary that there should be interpreters able to speak both German and Galician in the service of the Lands and Immigration Departments of the Government at Edmonton.

While it would not be difficult to get a competent German and English interpreter, it is in the last degree difficult to get a competent English and Galician interpreter. Mr. Wagner's usefulness is especially because of his being unquestionably the most competent and reliable Galician-English interpreter in Edmonton. The fact that he is equally competent in German and English makes it a saving to the Government to employ him to interpret the two languages instead of one interpreter to each language.

Mr. Wagner, after working as a journeyman tailor for some years in Edmonton, began business on his own account. He is a very good tradesman, and was in the way of doing a good business; but his qualifications as an interpreter became so well understood, especially by the Galician people, and the Government not having at that time any interpreter in that language, he was continually being asked by Galicians to act as their interpreter in their transactions at the Government Lands Office. Being of accommodating disposition, and the demands upon him being so many, his business suffered; and as it was evident that a Galician interpreter should be attached to the Edmonton Lands Office, Mr. Wagner was appointed and given a salary of \$40.00 a month. As this salary was not sufficient payment for his whole time, he was only expected to give his time when needed, and it was believed that he would still be able to continue his tailoring business. In practice, however, it was found that once the Galicians understood that Wagner was paid for interpreting for them, they crowded his place of business from morning until night week after week, so that his business was absolutely destroyed, and he was left dependent upon his salary.

Efforts were made from time to time to secure an increase of salary from the Department, but without avail. During this time, when his business was going to pieces, and his salary inadequate, he became despondent, and at times was under the influence of liquor.

His work of interpreting for Galicians was to a great extent in connection with the handling of money orders, bringing out money from Galicia to people at Edmonton, or sending money back to pay passages out. He handled hundreds of financial transactions of this and similar kinds.

While this condition of things existed, it became an object with some of those who thought his position and salary was better than it really was, to have him ousted in order that they might get it. At the same time, the fact that Mr. Wagner was an avowed supporter of the Liberal Government, and was in close touch with so many newcomers, caused him to be considered by the Government's opponents as a dangerous man politically, and therefore one to be got rid of.

The combination between the politicians opposed to the Government and the parties who wanted Mr. Wagner's position resulted in a number of accusations being made against him. He was tried on these accusations, and was acquitted on all but one. In that case he was convicted and sentenced to a term of some months in jail at Fort Saskatchewan, which term he served. At the same time, although the sentence may have been warranted by the evidence, it was a very general belief in Edmonton that the evidence was not warranted by the facts, and that Mr. Wagner's prosecution for malfeasance was really persecution for politics.

At any rate, very shortly after his release, he re-established himself in business as a tailor in Edmonton, and carried on business for some time with the full approval and a fair share of the patronage of the people of the city.

During this period, the Lands and Immigration Departments of the Government at Edmonton employed such Galician interpreters as they could get, but found them unsatisfactory, and it became necessary, if the public business was to be properly transacted, that an efficient interpreter should be secured.

Mr. Wagner is acknowledged to be the most efficient Galician-English interpreter in the country, and an offer was made to him to give up his business and take employment again with the Government in that capacity. Being under difficulties in carrying on a business without capital, it was to his advantage to accept the salary offered, which in this case was made a living amount.

Since his re-employment, he has given every satisfaction in every capacity in which he has been employed. He and his family are adherents of the Presbyterian church in Edmonton, and their standing in the community is without reproach.

He has been accused of being active politically since his re-appointment. This might easily be true, considering the venomous character of the political persecution to which he had been subjected. But it is only fair to say that the accu-

sation of political activity made against him was supported by affidavits secured by an interpreter who has since received sentence to gaol.

The Nixon Case.

Joseph Nixon was sub-Land Agent and caretaker of the Immigration Hall, at Macleod, Alberta. His salary was \$50.00 a month as sub-Agent and \$25.00 a month as caretaker. He accepted applications for homestead entry with the fee, and transmitted the applications and fee to the agent at Lethbridge. He also received applications and first payments on town lots in the town of Macleod.

He was a shoemaker by trade, but the duties of his dual office prevented his carrying on his business; he was therefore dependent entirely upon the salary which he received from the Government.

His work as sub-Agent and Land Guide was efficient and satisfactory to the people in Macleod and vicinity. While he was engaged outside as Land Guide, his son, a boy about 15, accepted applications in the office.

In the spring of 1905, the Land Agent at Lethbridge discovered that some applications and fees made and paid to Nixon had not been reported to the Lethbridge office. As soon as the office at Ottawa was informed of this, Inspector Leech was sent out to investigate. He found that Nixon's books had been very carelessly kept, Nixon not having been a man of clerical education, and having depended very much upon his son to look after the office. Mr. Leech found several cases in which receipts had been given by young Nixon, but the money had not been turned in. Nixon asserted that the shortage was due to error, and not to intent. The amounts were made up forthwith and paid in, and Leech so reported.

Although the explanation was accepted that the shortages were by negligence and not by intent, it was not thought advisable that Nixon should continue the office. It was therefore closed for a time, and afterwards re-opened under another sub-agent. It was not considered that Nixon had been guilty of any serious offence. No one had lost any money. He had given every assistance to Leech in straightening the books. It was considered to be merely a case of carelessness and lack of business methods. Therefore, when it was necessary to put a man on the Crow's Nest train to check the immigrants coming in by that road from the United States, Mr. Nixon was appointed to do the work, for which he was perfectly competent, and against which appointment no person in the district where he was known offered any objection.

Some time afterwards, while Nixon was still employed as checker, further complaints were received as to other accounts which had not been turned in. Further investigation was made, and it was found that Nixon himself had actually receipted for money which he did not turn in. He still claimed that this was error, and not intent. The amount of money was made up. It was, of course, open to the persons aggrieved or to any person to cause action to be instituted against Mr. Nixon, but no person in Macleod or the

surrounding country felt warranted in doing so, and it was not done.

When the season of immigration was over, Mr. Nixon's services were of course dispensed with as checker, and he afterwards, having lost his business as shoemaker and having lost his employment in the Lands Department, removed altogether from the West.

The Government did not consider that the circumstances warranted taking action against Nixon beyond what was taken. He was given employment in one capacity after having been dispensed with in another, the belief being that he was not directly in fault; but when it was shown that, whether intentionally or not, he was personally in fault, his connection with the Government absolutely ceased.

Original Documents.

A favourite Conservative slander, and one that is being most widely circulated is, that there was last session a refusal on the part of the Government to produce for inspection of Members of Parliament original documents required in connection with statements made in regard to Timber Limit transactions. The facts are as follows:—

Timber Limits, the right to which is acquired from the Dominion Government, are not held in fee simple, but under license renewed from year to year. The renewal is subject to the fulfilment of the conditions of the license. The record in the case of each limit forms a file, which is in charge of the Department of the Interior. These files constitute the title of the owner to his limit, as they contain the evidence from year to year of the fulfilment of the requirements of his license. As the interest of the individual, or corporation in the limit is a private interest, and as the Department of the Interior is responsible for the proper care of the records or files in question, it is necessarily the duty of the Department, as the custodian of evidence as to the right of other people to their property, to have every possible regard to its safe keeping. Therefore it is a rule of the Interior Department, a rule that was established when the Conservative Government was in power and has since been confirmed on several occasions, both by the late and present Governments, that no person not directly interested in the transactions recorded on the files, should have access to them; the reason being self-evident. When Mr. Ames, M.P., claimed the right of access to the files connected with Timber Limits, in accordance with the rule of the Department he had to be refused; which refusal was sustained by parliament.

Messrs. Boyce, White and Ames then gave notice of motion to have a large number of original files concerning Timber Limits made a return to the House. Under the rules of the House, any paper that is made a return becomes a part of the records of the House. For this reason when information is desired, the motion asks for a copy of the papers, so that while the original remains in the possession of the Department which is responsible for its safekeeping, the copy becomes a part of the records of the House. But the motions of Messrs. Boyce, White and Ames, if carried, would have transferred

the records in question concerning some twenty-five or thirty Timber Limits—that is to say, would have transferred the actual titles of the owners of those Limits—from the custody of the Interior Department, which was not only responsible for their safe-keeping, but also responsible for the decision as to whether or not the conditions of the license were being fulfilled, to become a part of the records of the House where they did not belong, and which would only be in the most restricted sense responsible for their safe-keeping.

Had the motions in question been agreed to by the House neither the Limit holders nor the Government, through the Department of the Interior, would have been in a position to protect either interest; nor could the documents have been considered to be in safe keeping because the practice is that once a document becomes a part of the records of the House it is open to the perusal of any member of the House, and may be placed in his custody during perusal. As the files are made up of a succession of communications and as the title depends upon the chain of these communications being maintained by the presence of all the documents without alteration, it is amply evident that once these files became a part of the record of the House and were handed out to private members for their inspection there was no security either to the holder of the Limit that the evidence of his rights would be maintained upon the files, or to the Government that the papers necessary to protect the interest of the public would be preserved. For these reasons such a motion had never in the history of parliament been agreed too, except once during the previous session, when a similar motion made by the Hon. Mr. Foster had inadvertently been agreed to and in the case of four Timber Limits the records had been removed from the Department, had become part of the records of the House, had been subject to the possibility of loss of important documents as already mentioned, and were at that time still unaccounted for to the Department or to the owners.

The reason for refusing to agree to the motions in question was given as above, on behalf of the Government at the time, but it was also pointed out that while the Government was compelled to exercise due care in the safe-keeping of these rights to property there was no desire to keep the transactions, which they recorded, secret from parliament. It was pointed out that these, as all other papers were subject to be brought before the Public Accounts Committee, on an order of that committee, in the custody of an officer of the Department, for examination by members of the committee; and if that were not sufficient to meet the requirements of the gentlemen proposing the motions and their friends, if the motions were amended so that the papers desired could be placed in the custody of the Clerk of the House for the inspection of Members, to be afterwards returned on the responsibility of the Clerk to the Department, there would be no objection. The three motions were amended accordingly and the papers were produced in accordance with the amended motions. In all 39 files regarding Timber limits

were brought before the House on these and similar motions and 518 files relating to Timber Limits were brought before the Public Accounts Committee on motion of that committee in the ordinary course as above stated. At no time and under no circumstances was there any effort on the part of any member of the Government, or any member or number of members of parliament, to prevent the fullest possible scrutiny of any of the documents relating to Timber Limits or relating to any other matter in which the responsibility of the Government or of parliament was involved. But the Government required that the responsibility for the safe-keeping of the documents, or in other words, for the safe-keeping of the titles of the owners of the property in question, should be duly fixed, as it was fixed.

Timber Limits.

Another highly favoured Conservative slander is that in the awarding of Timber Limits offered at public competition, there were occasions when improper preference was given to certain tenders.

This question was tried out at length before the Public Accounts' Committee. Some 518 original files were examined before that committee and 39 were examined by the House. The committee had full power to send for persons and papers, to examine witnesses upon oath, and in short, had all the powers of a court of justice and parliament combined. The net result of the investigation was that all allegations of impropriety in the awarding of tenders were absolutely disproved, and it was demonstrated beyond question that in all cases the limit was awarded to the highest bidder. The Government could not have asked for a more complete vindication of the honesty of its administration and the honour of its officials than resulted from this investigation by the Public Accounts Committee, called for and conducted on behalf of the Conservative party by Mr. Ames.

Although specific charges were not made it was insinuated against Mr. Turriff, M.P., who was for some time Commissioner of Dominion Lands and as such was responsible for the awarding of Timber Limits, that—1st, he entered into collusion with bidders for Timber Berths; 2nd, was privy to spurious tenders; 3rd, permitted a blank tender to be put in and 4th, permitted it to be fraudulently filled up in his Department.

Mr. Turriff asked that the charges be made so that they might be investigated. No one made the charges although a large number of Members of the Conservative party made the insinuations. In the course of the investigation by the Public Accounts Committee each one of these insinuations was specifically disproven by evidence on oath, which was neither contradicted nor attempted to be discredited in any degree.

Partizan Officials.

Amongst the broadest allegations of impropriety on the part of the Government made by the Conservative party is that the officials of the Land and Immigration Department in the prairie provinces are systematically employed as

political agents, especially on the occasion of election contests. This charge has been made so frequently, has been reiterated and emphasized on so many occasions and from so many different stand points, that no doubt it has received a measure of credence. There was recently held in the province of Saskatchewan a provincial election, and while the election contest was in progress the Conservative press were at pains to repeat what had been said so frequently and on so many previous occasions regarding the interference of Dominion officials in provincial politics. The election was held on Friday, August 14th, and on the 19th the Regina Standard, edited by J. K. McInnes, Conservative candidate for Regina constituency in the Federal House, under the heading of "Officials as Candidates" made the following statement:—

"The large number of Government officials who took active parts in the recent election campaign was the cause of considerable comment among the citizens who pay these officials. In Regina they acted as scrutineers and they drove rigs and the public service generally was prostituted throughout the province in the effort to sustain the Scott Government. This, of course, refers to provincial officials. To the credit of the present Minister of the Interior let it be said that the officials who come under him kept well out of the fight. A personal letter was addressed by Hon. Frank Oliver to each of the officials, in Regina at least, telling them to keep out of politics, and so far as is known that order was very generally obeyed. In the city The Standard knows of only one case where a Federal Government official attempted an active part, and in this he was promptly checked up and sent back to the office by his superior."

This statement coming from this source is all the answer that is necessary to that particular slander.

The Reasons for Slander.

The slanders of the Conservative party have been directed chiefly against two Departments of the Government, the Interior and the Marine, with the obvious purpose of specially discrediting those two Departments. The reason may very well be assumed to be the unqualified success of the Liberal policy as worked out by these two Departments. The Interior Department charged with the duties of securing the development of the West with a view to the increase of population, production, wealth and trade of the Dominion, and the Marine Department charged with the responsibility of winning back to Canada its original supremacy in the trade of the continent by the improvement specially of the St. Lawrence waterway from Montreal to the sea. To achieve these purposes vast enterprises had to be undertaken and corresponding expenditures to be made. Great national objects were hoped for, and have been successfully achieved. The results of the government's policy and administration in these regards admits of no question and reflects only credit on both policy and administration and confers a benefit which every citizen of the country not only understands but feels. It is not possible for the Conservative party to attack

the policy or to question the results of the administration of the Liberal Government in the work of either of these departments, but they have done their next best by slanderous insinuation as to the most trivial details to attempt to draw public attention away from the policy and its results. It is not professed that new, great and untried enterprises can be undertaken, that millions of money can be spent through thousands of different hands and in an inconceivable number of expenditures and still every act and every item be free from legitimate criticism, much less be open to attack by those whose business as an Opposition it is to attack and who feel no sense of responsibility for such attacks as are made. What is maintained is this, that the Liberal platform of '93, embodying well understood Liberal principles, has been given effect in the administration of these two as well as of the other departments of the government, that the policy has been sound, that the administration has been statesman-like, that the motive has been honest and honourable, that the results have been successful and such as the people of Canada may be proud of.

Marine Department Expenditures.

Up until the beginning of the present year the attacks of the Opposition had been mainly centred upon the Interior Department. Since that time they have been chiefly diverted from the Interior and directed against the Marine. The charges are general extravagance and improper expenditure. Although these charges were in the air for some time they were for the first time given definite form by the report of the Commission appointed last year to consider the question of Civil Service Reform. This commission saw fit in the course of its report to put in definite words what the Conservative party through its press had insinuated but had not hitherto dared to say. At once the Government seized the opportunity to bring the question to issue and a Royal Commission was issued to Mr. Justice Cassels, judge of the Exchequer Court, to hold an unlimited inquiry into all the transactions of the Marine Department. The result of that inquiry, so far as it has gone, has been a splendid justification of the department, both in its general results and in the details of its methods. The specific charges made by the Civil Service Commission have been shown to be absolutely without foundation. No other charges of a like character have been made, nor has there been shown grounds for making them, while the results of the efforts of the Department in deepening and lighting the channel of the St. Lawrence have been demonstrated to have actually achieved the object for which they were undertaken, that is to say, to have already actually diverted from the Atlantic ports of the United States the grain trade of the west to the St. Lawrence route. The evidence is that the improvements in the channel have secured an annual saving to shippers of a quarter of a million dollars in insurance alone. The reduction of the rate of insurance means that the route has been improved so that it is not only more practicable, but that there is full belief in its practicability, and that rates have been corre-

pondingly reduced without which there could have been no such diversion of trade as has taken place. The work of improving the harbour of Montreal, carried on under a board of harbour commissioners, is under the administration of the Marine Department, and is a part of the general enterprise by Canada of improving the St. Lawrence waterway so as to wrest the trade supremacy of the Atlantic seaboard from the United States through the adequate improvement of the natural advantages of the St. Lawrence route.

The answer to the charge of extravagance by the Marine Department is that the Marine Department has successfully done the work that by the mandate of the people the Liberal Government was authorized to do, the success of which has played such a large part in the development of Canada up to the present, and must play a far greater part in the far greater development of the future.

A special attack has been made upon the out-fitting of the ice breaker "Montcalm", which is a part of the Marine service of Canada. It is asserted that the fittings of this vessel are more luxurious than the circumstances require and an inventory of the silverware and cut glass used upon the steamer figures prominently in the campaign literature of the Conservative party.

The "Montcalm" Tableware.

If the sole business of the "Montcalm" were that of breaking ice it would certainly not be necessary to furnish such elaborate tableware as has been supplied, but the vessel's duties as an ice breaker occupy only a part of her time for the good reason that the ice which she is required to break only lasts for a short season. During the balance of the year she is employed in other work and has been given a special outfit so that she may be suitable for use by the Governor-General or the special representatives of other countries whom it may be necessary to entertain in Canadian waters. With such a vast coast line as Canada, greater probably than that of any other country in the world, except Russia, and with her enormous fishery interests, if Canada is to take proper charge of her responsibilities she must have vessels suitable for her varied requirements, and it is just as necessary that she should have at least one vessel suitably fitted for the entertainment of distinguished visitors as that that same or some other vessel should be capable of breaking a way through heavy ice in the winter season. It is not to the credit of any one in Canada that they should wish our country to appear in a discreditable light for the paltry expense that is necessary to place this particular vessel in a proper condition for the varied work which she is called upon to do.

The "Arctic" Outfit.

A similar inventory appears in the same campaign publication giving the outfit supplied to the steamer "Arctic" on the expedition to Hudson's Bay and more northern latitudes in the autumn of 1904. The purpose of the expedition of the "Arctic" was to establish British and Canadian supre-

macy on the unknown islands of the north, not because of their present value, but so that possible future claims by other countries on the ground of discovery might be avoided. It has been assumed by the mapmakers that British supremacy extended over all the seas and islands between the northern coast of North America and the North pole, but this assumption had no foundation in fact, and it has always been possible for another country that so desired, by sending an expedition into the North and planting their flag on any of the islands hitherto unclaimed, to have claimed and held it for that country according to the law of nations. Had such an occurrence taken place without any effort on the part of Canada to establish supremacy on those islands the Conservative party would have been, and would have rightly been, the first to find fault with the Liberal government for not having properly guarded Canada's interests. Whether the supplies on the "Arctic" cost a few dollars more than they should or not, need not be seriously considered. The vessel was going on an Arctic voyage. She might be back in a year and might not be back for two or three years, or might never be back at all. A government that would have permitted a vessel to depart on such an expedition for such a purpose, and not have provided liberally, and very liberally, both for the maintenance and comfort of the men employed, would not have been doing its duty to Canada and would not have been acting in a manner that would bring credit to the Canadian people. There may easily have been instances of the government in some of its departments having spent money without due regard to economy, but the case of the steamer "Arctic" will not be considered to be one of these by any one who will take the facts of the case and the purpose to be served into due and reasonable consideration.

Improving the Accounting.

The criticism of the Marine Department was opened during the early part of last session by a most virulent attack, particularly upon the Minister, for the expense incurred by his having introduced a new and improved system of accounting into the department. In former years the department had been of minor importance, as it only included administration of the fishery laws and regulations and of a very limited lighthouse service. When it assumed the stupendous task of the deepening and lighting of the St. Lawrence, it was of course greatly expanded both in number of employees and amount of expenditure. It was natural to conclude that the system of accounting which had been handed down from previous governments, and which might have been fairly applicable to conditions which did not involve any large expenditures, were not applicable to the great undertakings then in the hands of the department. Mr. Brodeur was convinced that a considerable economy of management as well as of expenditure, and an increase of efficiency could be secured by introducing the latest and most approved system of business accounting. There is no doubt that the Minister had some reason to fear that there were officials in his department who were not working in its

best interest, and finding the system of accounting then in force not sufficient in checking expenditures so that he might be satisfied as to the work of his officials, he applied to a well known and leading organization doing business in the chief commercial city of the continent for assistance in the re-organization of the accounting of the Department. The work was undertaken. It took some time and was necessarily expensive. When the facts were brought before parliament this expenditure was reckoned a newly unearthed scandal by the Opposition, and the walls of parliament were made to ring with denunciations of the extravagance of the minister who dared to pay the same wages that large business institutions throughout the country had willingly paid for the same class of work. The scandal consisted in the fact that a large amount of money was paid to men outside of the Department for the reorganization of its accounting system so that the work of its various employees in the taking in or giving out of public money might be adequately checked. A little later when the report of the Civil Service Commission had been laid before parliament, the Marine Department was attacked because, so the Civil Service Commission said, and the opposition reiterated and vociferated, there had not been a proper check on expenditures by officials of the Department. First the department was attacked for having taken means to properly check expenditure by its officials and next it was attacked because it had not sooner taken such measures as would adequately check its expenditures. Then Judge Cassels was appointed to settle as a question of fact whether expenditures had been improperly made or not, and is now engaged in that work. Whatever Judge Cassels may report, the intelligent and patriotic tax-payer will agree that a department which had the expenditure of several millions of dollars annually, certainly should have that expenditure checked by the most efficient modern methods, and that so long as the rate paid was in accordance with the rate paid by other people to the same men for the same work, there is not only no scandal, but there is most commendable action on the part of the Minister in the course that he took.

The Ross Rifle.

Sometimes for variety's sake the stream of slander was diverted from the Interior and Marine Departments to the Department of Militia, and in all the work of that Department was chiefly directed against the contract for the Canadian manufacture of the Ross rifle. The events of the Boer war demonstrated that the Lee-Enfield, the rifle of the British army, had serious defects which prevented it from being an ideal weapon, or even as good a weapon in some particulars as the rifles of some other countries. Sir Chas. Ross invented an improved loading action, which, having been refused by the British government was brought to the attention of the Canadian Minister of Militia and after due consideration received the approval of the militia authorities. A contract was made with Sir Chas. Ross to supply a certain number of rifles, embodying his invention to the Canadian militia, to be manufactured in Canada and a rifle factory accordingly

established at Quebec. With the policy of securing the establishment of a manufactory of military rifles in Canada there can be no quarrel. Rifles are only of use when a condition of war exists. When such a condition exists communications are liable to be broken and the country that hopes to defend itself successfully must either have large stores of arms in stock or be in a position to manufacture as required. Acting on this principle the Canadian government had already established a cartridge factory at Quebec and it seemed to be sound public policy, that if by giving a contract to Sir. Chas. Ross, for the supplying of an improved rifle to the Canadian militia there could thereby be secured the establishment of a factory for the making of these rifles in Canada a doubly good object would be served; that is, the Canadian militia would have a better rifle and Canada would manufacture rifles for herself. The contract price was higher than would have had to be paid for the Lee-Enfield because of the fact of the establishment of a new industry. For some time no objection was made, but later on in the search for scandals, the Ross rifle was picked up as good enough for the purpose of the Conservative party. It was attacked on the ground that the price paid for the rifle was too high, that there was in that higher price a graft for somebody, the suggestion being that the Minister of Militia was the somebody himself, but most important it was alleged that the rifle itself was not a satisfactory weapon. This latter was the really serious allegation, because whether connected with the contract or not, if the rifle itself was no good, not only was the money being spent upon it wasted, but the country was prevented from getting a better rifle, and in the case of rifles being needed the best is only good enough. Friends of the government and friends of the idea of the establishment of a rifle factory in Canada were for a time in grave doubt as to the actual facts. The attack upon the rifle itself was so virulent and persistent, and the natural tendency to believe that the choice of the British War office must necessarily be best, was sufficient to cause grave questionings in the minds of many. That there were faults of detail in the first contract of rifles supplied by the Ross factory is now admitted, that they were greater than some existing in other standard rifles is not admitted, but in any case the issue was withdrawn and a new and improved issue was made. This issue again was attacked as being inefficient and dangerous, and the question was brought before the House during its last session by Col. Worthington. The qualities of the rifle were defended by Col. Hughes, Conservative, and by the Minister of Militia, and it is safe to say that so far as the discussion showed, the Ross rifle of the second issue was at least as good as any other army rifle then in use in the world. The friends of the government and of effective Canadian militia defence, however, do not need to rest upon the claim that the Ross is as good as other rifles. Further improvements have been made and a third issue known as "Mark 3" has begun to be made to fill a second contract with the Canadian government. Some of

these rifles were recently used in the Bisley competitions in England and have still more recently been used in the competition at Toronto and Ottawa, shooting against Lee-Enfields and other rifles. The result of the Bisley competition was such that the London Times and other leading London papers stated editorially and with the fullest sense of responsibility that the Ross was unquestionably the best rifle in the world to-day. This conclusion has been borne out by the more recent matches at Toronto and Ottawa. It is a justification of the policy of the Militia Department and the government that admits of no argument and turns back upon the Conservative party the slanders by which they did their best to prevent this conclusion from being reached. The Ross rifle "Mark 3" will now admittedly shoot straighter and faster and last longer in doing so than any other rifle now made.

The Land for the Settler.

A general charge is made by the Conservative party, especially in their campaign literature and in the columns of their newspapers, that the Liberal Government in administering the lands of the West has shown favoritism to friends and a lack of fair play to the settler, or in other words that their avowed policy of "the land for the settler" must be considered as a broken pledge.

In support of this general allegation they bring forward a number of general statements that lands are being kept back from settlers for the benefit of speculative friends of the Government by various improper means. The allegation can best be answered by a statement of three outstanding facts.

First.—That during the twelve years since the Liberal Government came into power over 20,000,000 acres of land have been granted free to homesteaders as against 10,000,000 acres by the Conservative Government in eighteen years, while land disposed of to others than homesteaders in twelve years amounts to 2½ million as against 4 million acres disposed of by the Conservative Government to other than homesteaders during their eighteen years of power.

The second instance is that of the Doukhobour land reserved in 1900 and withdrawn from reserve and opened for settlement in 1907. The reservations had been made for the settlement of the Doukhobours in communities according to their custom. They had been made at a time and in a place when and where railway communication was distant. During the intervening years a railway had been built directly through the reserves, adding greatly to the value of the lands, in addition to the value created by settlement and improvements made by the Doukhobours themselves. As it was found that the Doukhobours were not occupying all of the lands reserved it became necessary to withdraw them from reservation. Some sixteen hundred quarter-sections of especially valuable land were therefore made available for disposition by the Government. Had it been any part of the policy of the Government to in any degree favour any person in the disposition of the public lands this was cer-

tainly an occasion when that policy might very well have been acted upon without serious criticism. So far was the Government from taking such action, that months in advance the public were notified that on a certain succession of days these lands in the several townships in which they were situated would be opened to free homesteading to the first applicant. There was a rush for them such as had never before been seen in Canada, and over twelve hundred homesteads were thus disposed of. Approximately four hundred remained untaken because they were not wanted, and in all the rush which took place not one accusation of unfair dealing or favoritism by the Government was made by any of the hundreds of people who were necessarily disappointed in the rush. Had the lands affected been sold without settlement duties they would have realized from \$500 to \$1,000, per quarter-section. From many points of view the Government would have been justified in disposing of the land in that way but to do so was not in accordance with the Government's policy. The sixteen hundred homesteaders who acquired these valuable lands are sixteen hundred witnesses that the policy of the Government is "the land for the settler" and disprove the slander that the Government has not been true to its principles.

The third fact is now in process of demonstration. In 1881 the Conservative Government placed under reservation half of all the land then remaining available in the three prairie provinces, that is, they placed under reservation the odd numbered sections for the purpose of being granted as aid to railways. Their policy of grants of land as aid to railways was so actively carried on during their term of office that some time before 1896 the then Minister of the Interior, Hon. Edgar Dewdney, called the attention of his colleagues by a memorandum to Council to the fact that they had already provided for grants to railways or had placed under selection by railways in completion of their grants the whole of the odd numbered sections in what was then supposed to be the fertile section of the three prairie provinces so that nothing remained for further land grant. The Liberal Government on acceding to power, in pursuance of its policy of "the land for the settler" at once discontinued the practice of granting land as aid to railways. Such grants as the Companies were not in a position to earn were cancelled and while faith was kept with the Companies who were actually building, the net result is that while some 32,000,000 of acres have been patented to the railway companies in pursuance of the grants made by the Conservative Government some 40,000,000 acres which had been placed under reservation as aid to railways by that Government has been relieved from that obligation, and by the terms of the new Dominion Lands Act, on September 1st every acre of this amount of land was made available as free homesteads to the first applicant at the counter of the Land Agencies and Sub Land Agencies throughout the prairie provinces. In the first five days of September 4062 quarter sections of this land was taken by free homesteaders or by purchasers of preemption, and although

the rush in some cases was greater than in the case of the Doukhobour lands there is no suggestion, on the part either of the three thousand successful applicants or the other thousands of hitherto unsuccessful applicants, that there has been anything but absolute fair play extended to every applicant.

These facts are the Government's answer to the slanderous allegations that it has unduly favoured the speculator or that its policy is not the "land for the settler".

Amongst those who have been most persistent and extreme in charging improper conduct in connection with Western lands is the Toronto News, at present and for some years past edited by J. S. Willison. In 1903 Mr. Willison published a life of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in which he described the policy of the Conservative party towards the West during their term of office in the following words:—

"The sanguine expectations of rapid settlement in the West fell lamentably short of realization. The early 'eighties witnessed a tremendous boom in Manitoba, but the era of inflation was brief and frenzied, and the results disastrous and enduring. Millions were granted to colonization companies. There was an immense waste of the public resources upon eager speculators and greedy partisans. There was a season of delirious gambling in prairie lots, a frantic competition in the plotting of paper towns; a reckless trading on the future that occasioned widespread loss and ruin and put a positive blight on the country for years afterwards. We wasted patrimony in the West as a spendthrift wastes a fortune, and created some great problems for other generations."

If Mr. Willison then stated facts in regard to the Conservative administration and is now stating facts in regard to the Liberal administration, every one must admit that even so the country is much better off and has better administration of its public lands under the Liberal than under the Conservative party. If Mr. Willison did not state the facts in the publication in question there is no reason to believe that he is stating the facts now. The public are requested to form their judgment upon the records only.

Had the policy of the Liberal Government been graft or been tinged with graft there was ample opportunity in connection with the disposal of Doukhobour reserves and in the pre-emption rush. There was even more in connection with the seed grain distribution and still more in connection with the construction of the Transcontinental railway.

Seed Grain Distribution.

By correspondence between the provincial governments of Saskatchewan and Alberta and the Dominion Government which was opened in Nov. 1907, by the first mentioned Government it was concluded that arrangements should be made for advances of seed grain to the settlers in the two provinces mentioned. The Dominion Government was to find the money and conduct the work of purchasing and distributing the grain; the provinces to become responsible to the Dominion for the amount of advances made to holders

of patented lands and the Dominion to be responsible for advances made to holders of land not yet patented. An estimate of \$1,850,000 was submitted to Parliament on Feb. 3rd, and was agreed to on the 7th. On the 6th regulations to govern the distribution of the grain were passed by the Governor in Council. The first application for seed grain was received on Feb. 13th and on March 3rd the first shipment of seed grain from Winnipeg was made. In all 1,325,915 bushels of grain were purchased and distributed. Of this amount 100,000 bushels of oats were purchased in Prince Edward Island and 400,000 bushels in England and Scotland. It was distributed to 15,276 persons in 1037 car lots to 250 different railroad points, and every bushel was received by the farmers in ample time for seeding. Complaints were made in regard to 15 cars. After full enquiry reasonable ground for complaint was found in the case of eight cars, and the complaints were adjusted. Throughout the whole operation there has been no charge of inefficiency, favouritism, or graft, although every effort was made by the Conservative Press in the West to prejudice the minds of the people on the subject, with such success that 1339 applications that had been made for grain by farmers were afterwards cancelled by them. It is estimated that half a million acres that would otherwise have either been left unsown or sown with inferior seed is under crop this year as the direct result of the Government dealing with the situation. The seed was inspected and cleaned before supplied and it is now admitted that no such quantity of good, sound and clean seed has ever before been supplied in the West at such a reasonable price. A complete return of the purchase and distribution of the grain was laid on the table of Parliament in printed form before prorogation.

The Transcontinental Railway.

The greatest enterprise now in progress in Canada or any other country, and one of the greatest that ever was undertaken, is the construction of the Transcontinental Railway. 1,800 miles of this railway is being constructed as a Government work, at a cost up to \$50,000 a mile. Surveys began in 1904, and construction began in 1906. The whole length is now practically under contract and some 20 millions of dollars have already been spent. Up to the present time there has not been the whisper of a suggestion either in or out of parliament that a dollar of this vast sum has been improperly spent or spent for an improper purpose. It is a fact that Major Hodgins who had been employed as divisional engineer and was afterwards discharged made certain allegations of impropriety which were promptly ventilated on the suggestion of the Government before a special committee of parliament. Every facility was given Major Hodgins to make good his statement with the result that after some days proceedings before the committee he withdrew them and the committee so reported to the House. Today this vast enterprise stands clear of even the suggestion of graft in any form, although the enterprise itself has never ceased to be most virulently attacked.

Graft and Restitution.

In order to provide a logical conclusion to their insinuations of graft against the government in its management of Western lands certain of the most vociferous amongst Conservatives have declared for "restitution" and have pledged their party to make restitution of properties acquired by graft if and when returned to power. With the principle of restitution of property acquired by graft Liberals have no quarrel. In times past they were able to secure the punishment of a few of the grafters of the Conservatives but never were able to secure restitution of the stolen goods. Every Liberal will heartily agree that if there is graft there should be both punishment and restitution.

So far the allegations of graft against the Liberal government in its disposition of the public lands have rested solely on the fact that property disposed of at a certain price, or on certain conditions by the government has afterwards changed hand at a higher price or it has been valued at a larger amount. While it is a fact that it is in the difference between the buying and the selling price the possibility of graft exists, the mere fact that there is a difference is no evidence of it. The whole commercial world lives, moves and has its being in the single principle of buying and selling with an increase of price at each transaction. Without the expectation of doing this there would and could be no commerce or civilization that is built on commerce. It is plain that buying at one price and selling at a higher does not in itself constitute or savor of graft in any degree. Graft occurs only on the one hand when property is sold at less than its market value, and on the other when it is bought at more than its market value.

The government is charged with the administration of Western lands, not for the purpose of acquiring or of holding, but of disposing of them. The West was acquired by Canada for the express purpose of securing the occupation, ownership and use of its lands by individual citizens. The test of successful administration of the West by four successive governments has been the number of people who could be induced to accept and occupy free homesteads in the country. The question was never "what amount of revenue can be raised from the sale or rental of the lands" but "what amount of wealth is being created by the occupation and cultivation of the lands by their new owners". To the successful answer of this latter question every energy of the several governments of Canada have been bent, according to their several politics applied to their understanding of the case. To this end law and order were established and maintained, the machinery of local government was supplied and provided for, railroads were aided by one means or another, immigration expenditures were made and the lands were systematically given away on condition of settlement. The responsibility of the government did not begin and end with the merits of each single transaction. The question was not "what is the individual merit of this particular transaction" but "what effect will it have upon the main purpose of the

government in securing the occupation and development of the country and thereby the increase of its wealth and commerce."

The present, or previous governments are to be judged in their work by the measure fixed for them by the will of the people of Canada, expressed by the voice of parliament, not by false measures set up from time to time in the course of partizan warfare. If the mandate of the country to the government had been to hold the West as a tenant farm with the government as bailiff to raise revenue for the treasury, the accusation of graft because land or other property had advanced rapidly in value after having been disposed of by the government would, or might have been, in a measure valid. But where the oft repeated mandate of the people addressed to successive governments was that the farm should be worked to increase the amount and therefore the selling value of its products, rather than to raise the rent, or in other words to raise revenue by the sale or rental of land, the test of honest and efficient government is the extent to which production has increased. Land value must increase with increase of production. The very fact that land values have increased rapidly during the recent years of the present government is the evidence of the correctness of their policy and the success of their administration and is prima facie evidence against graft or mismanagement of any sort or kind. The hundred thousand homesteaders who have taken up lands in the three provinces in the last four years are ample evidence of the public confidence in the fair dealing of the government. Without that confidence on the part of the man who came most in contact with the officials and work of the government no such demand for land would have taken place. It was because of the lack of that confidence in the fair play of the preceding Conservative government that the development of the West stood still during their rule. That many men have made money by acquiring land from the government is true. It is equally true that men who have acquired land from the railway companies, to whom it was given by the Conservative party when in power, have also made money in precisely the same ratio. The railway companies have not refused to sell land to-day at a certain price because it might be worth more to-morrow, and no one accuses them of grafting because they did so, nor would any honest man make such an allegation on such grounds. In the general advance of land values which have taken place in the West in recent years as a result of the policy and administration of the Liberal government many thousands of people have made money honestly in land transactions. As long as the market was rising the man who bought at market price and afterwards sold at market price had to make money, just as the man who buys on a falling market and afterwards sells must lose money.

A leading instance of alleged graft with which is coupled a suggestion of restitution is the transaction with the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company. While the policy of the Liberal government had been only to dispose of land direct

to the actual settler, on settlement conditions, this policy was varied from on two or three occasions for special reasons. One of these occasions was the arrangement with the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company and the reasons were shortly stated as follows:—

As aid to the building of a railway between Regina and Prince Albert, a land grant of some one and a half million acres of land had been made about 1890 by the Conservative government, to be selected as was the custom from a large tract reserved for the purpose and lying along the line of railway. After selecting a few thousand acres from the reservation the Company refused to make further selections and demanded of the then Conservative government that it be permitted to select elsewhere. Negotiations continued without further selections until the Conservatives went out; and were continued after the Liberals came in, without a conclusion being reached. The Company, however, had gone so far in their refusal to select lands in the tract reserved for them that they had filed a petition to have the question of their right to select in another tract decided by the Exchequer Court. About this time, that is in the beginning of 1902, the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company became convinced that the land in the railway company's tract was better than the company believed and entered into negotiations with the company to purchase practically the remainder of the company's holdings at \$1.62 per acre. Before reaching that point, however, the company approached the government with a view to acquiring the even numbered sections alternating with the railway company's odd numbered sections. The purpose in acquiring the even numbered sections from the government and the odd numbered ones from the railway company was with a view on the part of the company of securing the full advantage of the colonization work that they proposed to enter upon as the leading feature of their scheme. It is clear that land which had lain vacant for over ten years after a railway had been in operation through it, and was then only valued at \$1.62 an acre would require something to be done with it on a large and effective scale if any profit was to be reaped from the transaction. The Company prepared to bring in settlers from the United States intending to sell them land. The expense of inducing them to come would necessarily be large, and the company naturally wished to get the fullest possible advantage from their work and expenditure. If the government disposed of the even sections to the Company the Company would purchase the odd sections from the railway, and the long standing dispute with the railway would be settled, and the country could be no worse off in regard to settlement.

But the government, in pursuance of its policy of the settlement of the country, was not satisfied to merely use the lands wanted by the land company as a means of closing out its dispute with the railway company. The company was able to acquire the lands held by the railway company for a payment of \$1.62 an acre, for purposes of sale, but it was only able to acquire the quarter of a million of even-

numbered sections from the government on conditions of settlement and on paying \$1.00 an acre for it besides.

The government had ample precedent in the record of their predecessors and present opponents for such an arrangement as the Saskatchewan Land Valley Company proposed. In 1881, in the height of the short-lived boom which followed the C. P. R. agreement, the Conservative government undertook a policy of settlement of the west through the efforts of Colonization Companies. The companies were organized and received their allotment of their several tracts in 1882. Twenty-six companies were allotted colonization rights over 2,842,742 acres of land in twenty-six tracts, selected by themselves, chiefly in central Saskatchewan, between the Manitoba boundary and the South Saskatchewan and Qu'Appelle rivers, several of them occupying parts of the actual territory afterwards included in the Saskatchewan Valley tract. Two were in Alberta, at Red Deer and Edmonton respectively. The companies were sold the odd-numbered sections in their several tracts at a nominal price of \$2.00 an acre, and were given control of the settlement of the even-numbered sections. For every free homesteader placed on an even-numbered section, the company was to be allowed a rebate of \$160 on the price to be paid for the odd sections. This meant that if the company placed settlers on the even-numbered sections of their several tracts, the odd-numbered sections would cost them only \$1.00 per acre. Their operations were to cover a period of five years.

There is no doubt that the arrangement made with colonization companies by the Conservative government was a precedent for and basis of the agreement by the Liberals with the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company. But there were important differences. Settlement by colonization companies was part of the above policy of the Conservatives, but it was a distinct exception to the system followed by the Liberals. In the Conservative case, both odd and even-numbered sections were available, but in the Liberal case, the odd-numbered sections had already been disposed of to the railway, so the even ones only remained to be dealt with. The arrangement made with the Land Company was that of the sixty-four quarters of the even-numbered sections in each township, settlers must be placed on twenty as free homesteaders. After having placed the twenty free homesteaders, the company was entitled to purchase the remaining forty-four quarters of the even-numbered sections at \$1.00 an acre, provided they placed settlers on twelve of them, to whom the land might be sold. That is, the arrangement with the company meant not only the purchase of 250,000 acres at \$1.00 an acre, but it meant the placing of some 1,200 settlers upon that and adjoining land.

So far, there was a fair measure of similarity between the two schemes of the two governments, but there the similarity ceased. Long before the five years that the old colonization companies had in which to colonize their tracts, it became amply evident that the whole scheme had absolutely broken down. The companies could not fulfil their

agreements as to settlement, and equally could not pay for the land. It became necessary in 1886 for the Conservative government to close them out. Their contracts called for the settlement of some 8,880 homesteaders. All the people that could be found on the twenty-six tracts was 1,243, of whom certainly not more than a thousand, could properly be called settlers, as originally understood. What their bargain entitled them to was 160,000 acres at \$1.00 an acre and 285,891 acres at \$2.00 an acre, in all, 445,891 acres, thus applying the total sum of \$731,783, which they had paid in cash on account of the purchase of 1,421,371 acres of land on settlement conditions, which they had failed to fulfil. But the political influence of the companies was too great to admit of a fair settlement being made, and the then government was too susceptible to such influences. They were credited with the cash paid, \$731,783, with a rebate of \$160 each on 1,243 alleged settlers, and with \$322,158 alleged to have been spent in colonization effort. Total credit, \$1,257,942. They were allowed to relinquish all but 438,208 acres of the land they had purchased, of course selecting what they retained. For this they were nominally charged \$2.00 an acre, and for the remainder of the amount credited to them, they were given scrip to the amount of \$375,518, good at face value in payment of Dominion Lands then sold outright at \$2.00 an acre. The 438,208 which they retained was selected within their several tracts, and the scrip, at the rate of an acre for each \$2.00, or 187,759 acres, could be selected anywhere on available government lands. As the case stood when the accounts were cleared, the companies who had absolutely defaulted in their agreement, and therefore forfeited if not their rights at any rate special consideration, for \$751,783 paid in secured 625,962 acres of selected land. But they even did better than that, for while to the ordinary settler the land was sold at \$2.00 an acre, in closing out the cases of some of the large ranching companies, the company were allowed to buy a part of their leasehold at \$1.25 an acre, and the scrip could be applied on those purchases. In such a case, \$5.00 of scrip would buy 4 acres of land. However, placing the scrip at an acre for two dollars, the companies received 180,000 acres of land, to which they had not even a colorable right, the whole of which was selected land, and selected at a time when there was every opportunity for selection, and much of it still held by the men or the heirs of the men who first acquired it, with a valuation of \$10.00 to \$20.00 an acre. The agreement with the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company was fulfilled to the letter by the Company. The agreed number of settlers were placed upon the land within the time specified. The work done by the company in respect of the lands acquired from the government was small in proportion to the work done in colonizing the lands purchased from the railway company. People were brought into the country by special train, numbers of teams and men were employed to show people over the land, and money was spent lavishly in securing its settlement.

On actual experiment, it proved not only to be much better than had been believed, but throughout a great part as good as any other section of the west.

Where the railway had run for the previous ten years surrounding farms became an important factor in the wealth of the province of Saskatchewan. This could not occur without a great enhancement in land values, which of course brought profit to the original purchasers of the land. It was with a view to such profit that they entered upon the project, but no doubt its results were beyond their expectations. It was to secure the settlement and production of the country that the government made the arrangement with the company. And again results were better than had been hoped for. Where in all this transaction is there ground for complaint from any point of view, either of public policy or of private interest? The market value of the land was fixed by the sales to the Land Company by the railway company at one dollar and sixty-two cents an acre without conditions. The settlement conditions required by the government made the bargain with the government less favourable to the land company than that made with the railway company. The purpose of the government in making the bargain on the one hand to settle a long-standing dispute with the railway company, and on the other to secure the settlement of the tract, is not to be criticised. The purpose was achieved even beyond the most sanguine expectations. The company paid their money and did their work. Where in all this is there room for the slightest allegation of graft or for anything but commendation? And if there is no graft, there is no claim for restitution.

While members or adherents of the Conservative party may cry graft and call for restitution, the party is not in a position to either prove graft or to make restitution if it were discovered. The Colonization Companies' policy of the Conservative government was not a legitimate effort at colonization. It was simply and solely an attempt by men who had a pull with the Conservative government to forestall the expected increase in western land values resulting from the settlement of the country expected to follow the building of the C. P. R. This was amply proved by the event. No real effort to settle the lands was made, and when the agreement had to be closed out, the generosity of the government to its friends was in ample evidence. If there should ever be a demand for restitution of the public domain improperly alienated, the first on the list should be the 180,000 acres given to the 28 defaulting colonization companies, over and above anything to which they had even a colour of claim, either on the grounds of having paid for it or of having fulfilled the conditions of settlement which was the avowed purpose of the bargain.

Allegations of graft in connection with the disposition of timber limits have recently become nearly as popular in the slander campaign of the Conservative party as those in connection with the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company, and suggestions of restitution have been gradually made by persons who are not responsible for the policy of the party.

It is fortunate for the country, and incidentally for the Liberal party, that although the numerous suggestions of graft in regard to timber transactions had not been followed by allegations, even when the challenge was given on the floor of the house, the opportunity of absolutely disproving any suggestions of impropriety occurred before the public accounts committee of the House of Commons, the committee which is the recognized and accepted means by which any business transactions on the part of the government are probed to the bottom. Notwithstanding the torrent of newspaper insinuation that had been given vent to, no allegation was made either before the House or before the public accounts committee, and every insinuation that had been made and that could be brought before that committee for its consideration, was shown to be absolutely without foundation.

Notwithstanding this fact, which is on the records of the House, members of the Conservative party and its press, repeat and repeat the slanderous suggestions that have been made in the hope that by reiteration they will be believed.

The records show that 397 timber berths now held were granted by the Liberal government. Their total area is 6,745 square miles. The amount of bonus received for them, including 86 others which were afterwards surrendered, was \$531,000. The records show that the Conservative party when in power granted in the prairie provinces 647 berths, with a total area of 23,457 square miles, for which they received a total bonus of \$115,957. The record shows that of the berths granted by the Liberal government, every one was offered at public competition by newspaper and other advertisement, and in every case was sold to the highest bidder.

One reason for the small total bonus received by the Conservative government for the large area alienated was that for several years immediately following the boom of 1881, the timber resources of the country were parcelled out amongst the party friends of the government, without competition and without bonus. In all, 397 limits, with a total area of 18,634 square miles, were granted without bonus and without competition. Of the area thus disposed of, twenty-three limits are still held under license in whole or in part. The total area of these particular limits was 1,100 square miles, of which 635.57 square miles are still held under license by the original grantees or their assignees.

It has been a fancy of the Conservative press and stumpers to enlarge on the fact that T. A. Burrows, M. P., holds 574 square miles of timber limits, and to demand restitution of his alleged graft. But Mr. Burrows bought every foot of this area in public competition. He paid 57,006 for it, which was 13,447 more than the next highest bidder offered. Mr. Burrows has been engaged in lumbering all his adult life. He is now, and has been for years carrying on one of the largest lumbering concerns in the west. If the assertions which have been made on the part of the Conservatives mean anything, they mean that the party in its

desperation is prepared to pledge itself to the confiscation of honestly acquired property, because held by Liberals.

The Conservative party which granted square miles of timber berths free to political friends, presumes to talk of graft and restitution in the case of Mr. Burrows because he has honestly acquired at public competition, a part of the amount of timber that they gave away to their friends, of which as much as the present holdings of Mr. Burrows remains to this day for the profit of the grantees—their friends or their friends' friends.

Slander and Obstruction.

Although the session of 1907-8 was worthy of note for the amount of valuable constructive legislation carried through by the government, the public have it in mind chiefly for its having been the longest on record, and for that length having been occasioned not by the constructive legislation of the government, but by the slander and obstruction of the Opposition, slander of the government, its members and its administration, and obstruction of the business of Parliament in order that there might be the fuller opportunity for the utterance of the slanders. In all cases, every opportunity was given to prove every slander uttered either before the standing committees of the House, as in the case of the timber limit charges, or before a special committee of the House, as in the case of the Transcontinental Railway charges, or before a judge appointed by a Royal Commission, as in the case of the Marine Department charges.

These are the means provided by parliament to meet the case of accusations against the government. There never was a moment's delay on the part of the government in bringing the various matters immediately and fully before the proper committee or court of enquiry, and therefore there was no reason why the proper business of the House should have been delayed to more than the most limited extent in order to get these various matters before the proper committees, except the desire of the Opposition to abuse the privilege of parliament and degrade its dignity,—turning that which was intended solely to transact the most important business of the country into a convenience for throwing mud at their opponents, in the hope that no matter what the enquiries before the committees might prove, if they only threw plenty of mud, some of it would be sure to stick. Or in other words, they used the whole machinery of parliament to create impressions in the public mind that the facts as brought out in the several enquiries that have been conducted not only did not support, but absolutely contradicted. In order that the public may be aware as to who is actually responsible for the delay of the session, and as to how the delays occurred, the following index of the proceedings of parliament, from its opening until the end of May, is presented.

The following is a diary of the proceedings of parliament during its recent session, up to the end of May, exclusive of private business:—

- November 28. Opening.
 December 2 to 11. Debate on the address.
 December 11. Estimates presented.
 December 13. Supply. Public service slandered.
 December 17. Supply and slander.
 December 18. Request for timber limit papers.
 January 9. French treaty. Hon. L. P. Brodeur charged with extravagance in his expenses to the colonial conference. Slander. Obstruction. A little supply.
 January 10. Brodeur's expenses to colonial conference. Slander. Supply prevented.
 January 13. Agitation for original documents begins. Slander.
 January 14. French treaty.
 January 16. French treaty.
 January 17. Original documents. Obstruction. A little supply.
 January 21. Original documents. Supply again prevented.
 January 23. Original documents. Slander. Supply again prevented.
 January 24. Original documents. Slander. Obstruction. Supply again prevented.
 January 28. Japanese immigration. Supply again prevented.
 January 30. Debate on sale of timber limits. Misrepresentation. Supply again prevented.
 January 31. Timber limits. Slander. Supply again prevented.
 February 3. Timber limits. Slander. Supply again prevented.
 February 6. Timber limits. Slander. Supply again prevented.
 February 7. Obstruction. Provision of seed grain in prairie provinces.
 February 11. Obstruction. Slander. A little supply.
 February 13. Obstruction. Slander. A little supply.
 February 14. Obstruction. A little supply.
 February 18. Brodeur's expenses to the colonial conference.
 February 20. French treaty.
 February 21. French treaty.
 February 24. Motion for adjournment to call attention to alleged federal interference in provincial politics.
 February 26. Original documents.
 February 27, 28, 29. Three days' continuous sitting. Slander. Disorder. Brodeur's expenses to colonial conference. Supply again prevented.
 March 3. French treaty.
 March 10. Mutilation of original documents. Slander. Obstruction. A little supply.
 March 12. Slander. Obstruction. Supply again prevented.
 March 13. Obstruction. A little supply.
 March 17. Budget speech. The Hon. Geo. E. Foster's reply. Slander.

- March 19. Budget debate. Slander.
- March 24. Urgency vote to pay the service agreed to.
- March 25. Budget debate. Slander.
- March 26. Civil Service Commission's report. Debate. Slander. Supplementary estimates.
- March 27. Obstruction. Slander. Supplementary estimates.
- March 30. A day and night of slander. House rises at 2.13 a.m.; with nothing accomplished.
- March 31. Supply. Slander. Continuation of budget debate.
- April 1. Appointment of Judge Cassels to investigate Marine and Fisheries Department. Slander. Budget debate continued.
- April 2. Judge Cassels' investigation. Slander. Budget debate closes.
- April 3. Judge Cassels' investigation. Slander.
- April 7. Hudson Bay railway project discussed.
- April 8. Immigration Act amendment obstructed.
- April 9. Opposition ceases to obstruct the Immigration Act amendment.
- April 10. Judge Cassels' investigation. Discussion on immigration. Supply again prevented.
- April 13. F. D. Monk (Conservative) moves against bonuses to immigration booking agents. Supply again prevented.
- April 14. Slander. Immigration debate continued. Supply again prevented.
- April 21. Hodgins' charges. Judge Cassels' investigation. Obstruction.
- April 22. Hodgins' charges. Judge Cassels' investigation. Immigration debate. Supply again prevented.
- April 23. Obstruction. Immigration debate concluded. Supply again prevented.
- April 24. Much obstruction and a little supply.
- April 27. Much obstruction and a little supply.
- April 28. Major Hodgins' charges. Judge Cassels' investigation. A little supply at three in the morning.
- April 29. Obstruction. Slander. A little supply.
- April 30. Opposition move for another civil service commission. Supply again prevented.
- May 1. The Doukhobours debated. Obstruction. A little supply.
- May 4. Obstruction. A little supply.
- May 5. Dominion Elections Bill. Threat to further hold up supplies and not let a dollar pass.
- May 6. Judge Cassels' investigation. Dominion Elections bill.
- May 7. Dominion Elections bill.
- May 8. Dominion Elections bill.
- May 11. Dominion Elections bill.
- May 12. Sir Wilfrid Laurier proposes a compromise which is not accepted.
- May 13. Dominion Elections Bill.

May 14. Judge Cassels' investigation. Slander. Obstruction.

May 15. A little supply.

May 18. Dominion Elections bill. Slander.

May 19. Conclusion of the timber limits agitation. T. A. Burrows, M. P., replies. Supply again prevented.

May 20. Obstruction. Some supply.

May 21. Debate on the Ross rifle. Supply again prevented.

May 22. Ross rifle debate concluded. A little supply granted.

May 26. The Hon. Geo. E. Foster moves an unnecessary resolution, affirming the principle of an independent civil service, under a commission, which keeps the House until midnight. Minister of Customs fights until 4.25 a.m. for money to pay his department. Supply again prevented.

May 27. The Hon. Geo. E. Foster starts an attack on the Minister of Militia. Supply again prevented.

May 29. Attack on the Minister of Militia concluded. Supply granted.

An Analysis of the Proceedings.

WHAT HANSARD SHOWS.

(From the Ottawa Free Press.)

The session just closed is the longest on record. It lasted seven and a half months; and within that period, the House of Commons sat on 150 days.

The public measures brought forward by the government were not of a nature to excite contentious feelings in the country. The only measure in respect of which there was any semblance of agitation was the Election Act amendment, and the opposition to that was purely partizan and local, the public, outside of Manitoba, being merely interested onlookers. There was no reason, therefore, why the session should have been a record for length; and the very length of it is but evidence of ill-regulated proceedings.

The daily chronicles of the session prove a wanton waste of time:

On motions to go into supply, members may discuss anything that they can invent the semblance of an excuse for discussing; and if an Opposition is wishing to hamper a government all it can, it will have some topic on tap whenever such motions are on the order paper. But such are not the only times for hampering the progress of parliament. For, when the House is in committee, members may speak any number of times on the same subject; and practically their only limitations are their own endurance and ingenuity. This, as can easily be seen, is the less difficult way of obstructing; and obstruction on motions to go into committee of supply is but the prologue to the play which is to be enacted when the House gets into committee of supply. But while obstruction in committee of supply is the more common, it is less easy to detect; and, unlike obstructions to motions to

go into committee of supply, is not capable of being reduced to figures. Obstruction on motions to go into committee of supply can, however, be fairly well reduced to figures. For such motions are what are known as dilatory motions; and unless some one rises in his seat to speak, they are agreed to without being put; but if some one speaks, they have to be formally put and agreed to. Hansard clearly shows when the House went into supply automatically, and when the motion had to be put. And according to Hansard, four out of every five times the motion had to be put.

A perusal of the Hansard reports will also show that for several months the way in which things went on in the House of Commons was nothing short of a disgrace; and they do not appear to have begun to mend until the latter part of May, when a pressure of public opinion became concentrated on Parliament through the stoppage of supplies. Soon after this, another mood overtook the House of Commons; they wanted to get everything done and go home; and it is interesting to note how things were tobogganned through Parliament, measures literally falling over one another to get through before the close, so that they might not be held over until the next session.

The extent of the foregoing is emphasized by a comparison between the periods from November 28 to May 16 and from May 17 to July 18; and also by another, taking the whole six and a half months from November 28 to June 16 and setting it against the last months of the session.

In the period from November 28 to May 16, motions to go into supply were obstructed 31 times (on three occasions by Liberals who had reports to make, and on 28 by Conservatives), and only four times did the House get into supply forthwith. During this period, \$23,000,000 of supply were passed, and 57 bills, only one of them, the French treaty, being a measure of first importance, the majority being private legislation.

In the period from May 17 to July 18, motions to go into supply were obstructed 17 times by Conservatives and once by a Liberal; four times the motions had to be put, but the delay was so insignificant that they cannot be fairly included in the 17 mentioned against the Conservatives; and ten times the House went into supply forthwith. During this period, \$90,000,000 of supplies were passed and 116 bills; ten of them being first-class measures.

In the period from November 28 to June 16, motions to go into committee of supply were obstructed 43 times by Conservatives; three times Liberals had reports to make; and six times the House went into supply forthwith. During this period, \$55,000,000 of supply were passed and 103 bills, only one, the French treaty, being a first-class measure.

In the period from June 17 to July 18, motions to go into supply were obstructed by Conservatives twice and by Liberals once; four times the motions had to be put, but the delay was so insignificant that they cannot be fairly included in the number charged against the Conservatives; and eight times the House went into supply forthwith. During this

period, \$60,000,000 of supply were passed and 70 bills, ten of them being first-class measures.

If the pace at which business was done in the last month of the session had been set in the first, Parliament could have done the whole of its business in two and a half months; but as no one will believe that it could have been properly done in such a short space of time, the business done in the last month must have been done too hurriedly, without any really valuable criticism being offered. And so the party guilty of wasting time in the earlier months of the session, must also be charged with having impaired the efficiency of Parliament, depriving it of the time in which to discuss properly the larger portion of the appropriations for the public service, and also the chief legislative proposals.

The figures given clearly show that the Conservatives were directly responsible for the waste of time in the early months of the session; and as they thereby shortened the time for the transaction of the real business of Parliament, they must also be held responsible for the rush at the close.

Broken Pledges.

One of the most frequently recurring slanders of the Conservatives is that of "broken promises." The Liberals are accused of not having kept faith with the country. This is a question that can easily be brought to the test. In 1893, the Liberal party met in convention at Ottawa and formulated a platform. In 1896, they came to power, and after twelve years, it is very easy to decide whether they are or are not true to the principles upon which they secured the confidence of the country. The charges of broken pledges have special reference to the tariff, expenditure and to land administration. In order that there may be no mistake as to what the Liberals promised on these questions, the paragraphs of the platform dealing with them are published in full.

Tariff.

"That the customs tariff of the Dominion should be based, not as it is now upon the protective principle, but upon the requirements of the public service,

"That the existing tariff, founded upon an unsound principle, and used, as it has been, by the government as a corrupting agency wherewith to keep themselves in office, has developed monopolies, trusts and combinations; it has decreased the value of farm and other landed property; it has oppressed the masses to the enrichment of the few; it has checked immigration; it has caused great loss of population; it has impeded commerce; it has discriminated against Great Britain.

"In these and many other ways it has occasioned great public and private injury; all of which evils must continue to grow in intensity as long as the present tariff remains in force, in that the highest interests of this country demand a removal of this obstacle to our country's progress, by the

adoption of a sound fiscal policy, which, while not doing injustice to any class, will promote domestic and foreign trade and hasten the return of prosperity to our own people.

"That to that end the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical and efficient government.

"That it should be so adjusted as to make free or to bear as lightly as possible upon the necessities of life, and should be so arranged as to promote freer trade with the whole world, more particularly with Great Britain and the United States.

"We believe that the results of the protective system have grievously disappointed thousands of persons who honestly supported it, and that the country in the light of experience, is now prepared to declare for a sound financial policy.

"The issue between the two parties on this question is now clearly defined. The government themselves admit the failure of their fiscal policy, and now profess their willingness to make some changes; but they say that the changes must be based only on the principle of protection. We denounce the principle of protection as radically unsound and unjust to the masses of the people, and we declare our conviction that any tariff changes based on that principle, must fail to afford any substantial relief from the burdens under which the country labours. This issue we unhesitatingly accept and upon it we await with the fullest confidence the verdict of the electors of Canada."

Nothing could be more clear than that the party declared for a reduction and readjustment of the tariff to make it less burdensome while producing more revenue. That this has been achieved the whole country is witness.

Expenditure.

"We cannot but view with alarm the large increase of the public debt and of the controllable annual expenditure of the Dominion and the consequent undue taxation of the people under the governments that have been continuously in power since 1878, and we demand the strictest economy in the administration of the government of the country."

The plank on expenditure objects to the increasing of the public debt, which had increased by 118 million dollars in 18 years, under Conservative rule, and declares for economy of administration. The increase in the public debt has been trifling since 1896, and the record in every Department of the Government is that the administration is more economical than in 1896.

Dominion Lands.

"That in the opinion of this convention, the sales of public lands of the Dominion should be to actual settlers only, and not to speculators, upon reasonable terms of settlement, and in such areas as can be reasonably occupied and cultivated by the settler."

On the question of Dominion lands, the cancellation of reserves made for railway companies, the non-granting of such further reserves, and the final opening of the odd-numbered sections to homestead settlement is the evidence of ample fulfilment of that pledge.

H. A. Allan on the St. Lawrence Route.

Conservatives have been particularly strong in condemning the increased expenditure on the lighthouse and coast service, incurred through dispensing with old buoy lights and substituting a newer type, with intenser lumination. They do not find any support, however, from the navigators, for whose benefit the lights were changed; and the shipping companies fully endorse everything that has been done to improve the approaches to Canadian ports. This was clearly shown in the evidence given by Mr. Hugh A. Allan, of the Allan line, before Mr. Justice Cassels, in the investigation into the Marine and Fisheries Department.

Mr. Allan said: The change was absolutely necessary. If the shipping of Canada was to go ahead and compete with the rest of the world, we could not afford to tie our ships up in the channel, awaiting the daylight, between Quebec and Montreal. The boats must be run economically, and these aids to navigation were necessary, and have to a great extent met the requirements of trade.

Any man who knows the first thing about the shipping business could not go from Montreal to the sea, even as a passenger, without having forced upon his attention the tremendous strides that have been made in the improvement of the St. Lawrence navigation.

Not only is the channel better lighted, but better control of the lights is secured—ininitely better than anything we ever had before. The result has been that, instead of being the worst lighted and buoyed channel of its size, the St. Lawrence route will now compare favorably with any water route of like nature in the world.

Reduction of Freight Insurance.

At Sorel, on September 5, addressing a public meeting, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries gave the following statement respect to the savings in insurance from 1900 to 1907 inclusive;—Butter, cheese and goods (per 100); grain (do)—1900, 84½c, 90c; 1901, 63½c, 99c; 1902, 55½c, 78; 1903, 49c, 56c; 1904, 43c, 50c; 1905, 37c, 41c; 1906, 45c, 45c; 1907, 38c, 38c. These figures constitute a reduction of 54½ per cent. on the produce in the first category and of 60 per cent. on that of the second. The tonnage of the vessels amounts to 386,837 tons, giving a total value, calculated at \$60 per ton, of \$23,210,220. The average rate of insurance is about 4 per cent., or a total of \$928,408. Seven years ago, the average rate being then 5 per cent., would have represented on these boats \$232,000 more than today. Last year the total amount of goods carried by the St. Lawrence route was about one hundred and fifty millions. Insuring these on the lowest rates of 1900, the result is a total in in-

insurance of \$1,260,000. Insured at last year's rate—that is to say, at 3.8 cents per dollar—the result would be \$570,000, or a saving in the cost of insurance of \$922,000. To this saving add that effected on the boats, and we have a total reduction in the cost of insurance of \$922,000.

These statements completely vindicate the expenditures of the government, and isolate the Conservative party from the responsible and intelligently-founded opinions of men interested in the promotion of Canada's maritime commerce.

Hon. W. S. Fielding on "Conservative Economy."

In the House of Commons, on July 17, the Hon. Geo. S. Foster, as financial critic for the Conservative party, moved an amendment to a motion to go into supply and charged the government with mad and reckless extravagance, expressing the opinion that, if this was persisted in, it would bring disaster to the country.

The Minister of Finance (the Hon. W. S. Fielding) exposed the insincerity of his opponents in the following words:

I observe that my hon. friend and those associated with him are quite ready to denounce expenditures generally, but there are moments when they take saner views. It is easy enough to be general in their denunciations, but the best and fairest way is to approach this question from the point of view of the particular locality with which they are best acquainted. It is easy to declare that you ought to be economical in one province, if you want somewhat extravagant expenditures in your own. It is easy to find fault with expenditures at a distance, but when one goes to the locality with which he is best acquainted, he is obliged to take saner views. And so, while hon. gentlemen opposite can see no reason for the large expenditure generally, the moment they come to think of their own counties, they are able to declare that these expenditures are highly necessary. Take, for instance, the expenditure in the Militia department, and during this session repeated allusions have been made to the rather liberal expenditure, as it is stated, we are making in that department. Is it not curious that the very moment these hon. gentlemen opposite are denouncing the Minister of Public Works and the Minister of Militia for the expenditure in their departments in connection with buildings for the militia of Canada, we find my respected friend from Halton (Mr. Henderson) who is slumbering so peacefully just now—Mr. Henderson: Oh, no.)

Demands for Armouries.

What is to be thought of my hon. friend, that while he is going to vote for this resolution against expenditures generally, he thinks the Minister of Public Works should build an armoury at Oakville in his own county. My hon. friend from Marquette (Mr. Roche) joins in this general condemnation of expenditure, and particularly on the militia, but he wants us to build him an armoury at Minnedosa. The hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron) would like an armoury at Valleyfield. The chief whip of the opposition (Mr. Taylor) who no doubt will vote for this amendment

—he is against expenditure, but he quietly whispers in the ear of the Minister of Public Works: Send us along an appropriation for an armoury at Gananoque. The hon. member for East Elgin (Mr. Marshall) is going to vote for this amendment, but he would like a drill hall at Aylmer West. The hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) wants an armoury at Orillia, and the hon. member for Prince Edward (Mr. Alcorn) thinks we should have an armoury at Picton, while the gallant colonel from Victoria-Haliburton (Mr. Sam Hughes) insists that there should be an armoury in the county he represents. And so we find that hon. gentlemen opposite are against expenditure, but when it comes down to expenditure in their own constituencies, they are just as anxious for it as anybody else.

Conservatives Who Want Wharfs.

We are putting a good deal of money into the improvement of harbours and rivers, and perhaps there is no class of expenditure which hon. gentlemen opposite so generally condemn. But when they come to consider these matters from the home point of view, they see it in quite a different light. My hon. friend from West Hastings (Mr. Porter) is very anxious for improvements at Belleville harbour; the hon. member for Kent (Mr. Clements) wants improvements on the Thames river; the hon. member for Alberta (Mr. Herron) wants a breakwater in Macleod; the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) also wants harbour improvements; the hon. member for East Northumberland (Mr. Owen) wants a wharf and a shed beside it in his constituency. Then the hon. member from New Brunswick (Messrs. Crocket and Fowler) while they are prepared to condemn expenditure generally, particularly serve notice on the Minister of Public Works that they want more money for wharfs on the St. John River and the inland waters of their province. The hon. members from Prince Edward Island (Messrs. Martin, McLean and Lefurgey) are champions of economy when you are speaking generally, but all the same they serve notice upon us that they want harbour improvements—breakwaters piers and wharfs—and in addition to that, they venture to say they would like to have a tunnel. My hon. friend from St. John (Mr. Daniel) has spoken with gratification of the amount of money we are spending in improving the harbour of that important port, and he informs the Minister of Public Works that he had better go on with his expenditure, because St. John needs more.

Economy for Your Neighbor.

My hon. friend from Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk) —if he were here to-night, would, I suppose, vote for this amendment. He does not want us to spend money on wharfs and so forth in Nova Scotia, but he thinks it highly important that a wharf should be built at Lachine in his own constituency. The hon. gentleman is very anxious for economy generally, but at the same time he serves notice upon the Department of Marine and Fisheries that no effort must be spared to deepen the channel of the St. Lawrence, so that

there will be 30-feet clear navigation from Montreal to the ocean, and, more than that, he has again and again condemned this government because we have not made a rush order of the transportation commission, which calls for expenditures running up to possibly \$300,000,000.

The hon. gentleman from North Toronto (Mr. Foster) has given evidence of his idea of economy to-night, when, in the midst of this thundering against the expenditures, we find him advocating that we should spend probably two millions more by adding to the salaries of the civil servants. My hon. friend who usually sits near the member from North Toronto is not here to-night—I refer to the hon. member for South Lanark—(Mr. Haggart) but as a rule he is unceasing in his demand that we shall, at the earliest possible moment, enter upon the construction of the Georgian Bay Canal, which will cost \$100,000,000.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier on Immigration.

The government is progressive, and selective immigration policy has been the main feature of its administration, and the growth of Canada in every direction has been tributary to it, because, if there had been no settlement, such as has taken place, there would not have been the west for the great constructive works which have been undertaken.

The central force, which has transformed Canada, has been the government's immigration policy. It might have been thought that the excellence of it would have been taken for granted, but in April the government had to defend it, in the House of Commons, against the misrepresentations of its opponents of the little Canada school. The attack was fortunate for the Liberal party, inasmuch as it called forth from Sir Wilfrid Laurier the following statesmanly and patriotic utterance:—

"The position I intend to take upon this question, the position to which I desire to draw the attention of the House, is that the primary and dominant consideration which should influence every gentleman in this House and this country is to retain and maintain upon the soil of Canada every man who is born in Canada. And, Sir, it is a strange fact, it is a fact that it has only been by the impetus given to our national life through our policy of immigration that we have put an end to the scourge of emigration which, for years, was a running sore in the very vitals of our country. My hon. friend, the leader of the opposition (Mr. R. L. Borden) has spoken eloquently and well of the devotion of those who, in the last years of the eighteenth century, sacrificed everything that they might remain subjects of the British Crown, who left everything they had in the American colonies and came here to make new homes for themselves in what was then a wilderness. The praise he gave to these people could not be too high. There never was, perhaps, in any part of the world, a greater example of devotion to conviction.

Exodus of Canadians.

But, Sir, it is a fact that the descendants of those men, and the descendants also of the early French pioneers who

likewise came here from very similar motives to hew out for themselves homes in the forests of Canada—the descendants of these people at a certain time could not find a living in their own country, but went away by thousands and hundreds of thousands to seek homes in a foreign land do better endowed by nature than their own. Must I remind my hon. friends opposite that in the closing thirty years of the last century, up to the taking of the last census, the population of Canada did not increase. Decade followed decade, census followed census, but every census had the same story to tell, that Canada hardly retained even its own native population. During all these years, mothers brought forth children, but when the time came to enumerate them they were not to be found in the land. Our census showed that in 1891 the population of Canada was 4,883,239, the increase during the preceding decade having been only 5.9 per cent. At the end of the following decade in 1901, the population was 5,371,315, and during that decade the population had increased barely 11 per cent. And how was that 11 per cent made up? British Columbia had increased 67 per cent—foreign population; Manitoba had increased 81 per cent—foreign population; the Northwest Territories had increased 113 per cent—foreign population. And what were the increases in the older provinces? In New Brunswick, barely 3 per cent; in Nova Scotia, barely 2 per cent; in Ontario, 3 per cent; in Prince Edward Island, less than 1 per cent; in Quebec, 10 per cent. The same story had been told by the preceding census. During that decade ending 1891, New Brunswick showed no increase; Nova Scotia 2 per cent; Ontario, 9 per cent; Prince Edward Island, less than 1 per cent; Quebec, 9 per cent. These figures show the condition of affairs down to 1901.

In the long procession of immigrants to the United States, Ireland led the way. For this immigration from Ireland there was not only the same cause which affected the rest of Europe, but, as we all know, the bad and vicious legislation of years was followed in Ireland by famine. One-half the population of Ireland passed over from that country to the United States. Next after Ireland, the country which stands second in the long procession, in proportion to the number of its population, is Canada. In 1901, as I have just said, the population of Canada was 5,371,315. Of this number, 4,671,815 were born in Canada, the rest were born elsewhere. But in that same year the American census showed that of the American population, 1,183,255 had been born in Canada. Therefore, we had at that moment of people born in Canada, and living either in Canada or in the United States, 5,855,070.

One in Five went to the U. S.

Of this number, every one in five had gone to the United States. What was the cause? The cause is not difficult to find. The newcomers in the United States had to be fed and clothed and shod. They had to be supplied with tools, instruments, furniture, with all the requirements of modern civilisation. A tremendous impetus was thus given to

American industries. The labour market of the United States was a great attraction to our hardy population, who went to find in the United States the employment which their own country could not give them, and there, Sir, you have the explanation of the calamitous exodus which for so many years was a sore upon our country. Under these circumstances, what was to be done? Were we to remain idle and make no effort to arrest this current of emigration? No, our policy was to tear a leaf out of the book of the Americans, and we not only tore a leaf out of the book of the Americans, but we went them one better.

Back to Canada.

What the federal authorities at Washington left to the state governments, we did ourselves, and the results have been what we know them to be to-day, that immigration which had been coming in a thin and narrow stream, came at last in a copious flood, and not only was immigration from Canada to the United States stopped, but we now have an immigration from the United States to Canada.

Now, Sir, last year we received over 200,000 immigrants. If we take the estimate of Mr. Prescott F. Hall, the author of an American works on immigration, that twenty per cent of these were earning \$1.00 a day, these immigrants added to the wealth of the country no less than \$12,000,000. We know for a fact that the American immigrants brought into the country, in money and goods equivalent to money, in one year, \$49,000,000, and in another year, over \$50,000,000. Does anybody think under such circumstances that we should deprive ourselves of the valuable addition to our wealth which our policy of immigration has brought to this country? Sir, if we were to do that, we would revert to the condition of ten years ago when we were losing our population. I do not claim that the policy we have at the present time is to be permanent; it is only a temporary policy; it cannot last forever; but under the existing circumstances, with a powerful neighbour to the south, having a population of 80,000,000, while our population is only 6,000,000 the time has not yet come for departing from that policy.

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